

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 /086 W

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R 181519Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6795

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL KRAKOW

AMCONSUL POZNAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 5404

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, PL

SUBJECT: POLISH VIEWS ON POST-HELSINKI ERA

REF: A. STATE 191457 NOTAL; B. MOSCOW 11152 NOTAL;

C. WARSAW 5256; D. WARSAW 5091 NOTAL; E. STATE 182813

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1. SUMMARY. HAVING EXHAUSTED THEIR INITIAL EUPHORIA

OVER THE HELSINKI "SUMMIT" ITSELF, POLISH MEDIA AND
OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ARE FOCUSING INCREASINGLY ON THE
POST-HELSINKI ERA. WHILE CONTINUING TO STRESS THE
CONCEPTS VITAL TO POLAND, SUCH AS THE INVIOABILITY
OF FRONTIERS, PUBLIC COMMENTARY HAS ALSO EMPHASIZED
THE NEED FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "HELSINKI DECALOGUE"
IN ITS ENTIRETY. SOME COMMENTATORS SEE DETENTE AND
IMPROVEMENT OF EAST-WEST POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND
CULTURAL TIES AS ESPECIALLY CRUCIAL TO POLAND'S OWN
CONTINUED PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN
SIGNS OF RENEWED EMPHASIS ON INTENSIFYING THE IDEOLOGI-
CAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, WHICH COULD LEAD
TO TIGHTENING AT HOME AND SELECTIVE INTERPRETATIONS
ON BASKET III ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE OFFICIAL COMMENT IN TH:6YYW=_R!/FD00>"Q+:
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 5404

6. VIEWING THE POST-HELSINKI PERIOD AS A "TIME OF IDEOLOGY,"
THE STUDENT WEEKLY ITD, IN ITS CURRENT ISSUE, CALLED FOR
BETTER IDEOLOGICAL PREPARATION OF POLISH YOUTH. ANTICIPATING
INCREASED CONTACTS WITH THE WEST, ITD COLUMNIST JERZY KLDTCHTA
OBSERVED THAT CERTAIN WESTERN DELEGATIONS AT GENEVA HAD SOUGHT
FREER EXCHANGE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF "IDEOLOGICAL INFILTRATION."
DESPITE CSCE LANGUAGE PROTECTING AGAINST INTERNAL INTERFERENCE,
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"CERTAIN CIRCLES" IN THE WEST HAVE NOT RENOUNCED SUCH
"DIVERSIONARY" PLANS, ACCORDING TO KLECHTA. CLAIMING
PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE SHORTCOMINGS OF POLISH YOUTH IN
DEFENDING THEIR SYSTEM AGAINST WESTERN CRITICISM, KLECHTA
CALLED FOR A LONG-RANGE PLAN OF ACTION UNDER THE STRATEGY OF
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

7. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE POLES GENUINELY REGARD DETENTE AS
CRUCIAL TO THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ARE
THEREFORE GENUINELY COMMITTED TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT.
CONTRARY TO THE SUGGESTION IN REF B, THE POLES HAVE BEEN
CALLING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI PRINCIPLES "IN
THEIR ENTIRETY." THEY HAVE NEVERTHELESS DEMONSTRATED CON-
SIDERABLE SENSITIVITY TO THE BASKET III COMPLEX. THE POLISH
PRESS HAS NOT YET FOLLOWED THE EXAMPLES OF PRAVDA AND
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND HAVE ALREADY PUBLISHED
THE FULL TEXT OF THE FPAL DOCUMENT, ALTHOUGH A SPECIAL
BOOKLET CONTAINING THE TEXT HAS BEEN PROMISED. A REVIEW OF
THE HELSINKI TEXT JUST RECEIVED REVEALS THAT THE EXCERPTS
CARRIED IN TRYBUNA LUDU ON AUGUST 2 WERE EDITED, FOR EXAMPLE,
TO JUXTAPOSE EARLIER STIPULATIONS ON SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-
INTERFERENCE WITH THE PASSAGE ON FREER EXCHANGES. THE POLES

MAY FEEL LESS SECURE ABOUT THEIR ABILITY TO CONTROL PUBLIC PRESSURE THAN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIETS AND MAY THEREFORE BE MORE CHARY ABOUT DISSEMINATING THE DOCUMENT. POLISH SILENCE ON THE RECENT FRG-POLISH AGREEMENT MAY, IN PART, HAVE RELATED CAUSES (REF C).

8. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE POLES MAY BE PREPARING AN IDEOLOGICAL PUSH, WITH POTENTIAL DOMESTIC AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS. THE KLECHTA ARTICLE IS THE FIRST SUBSTANTIAL COMMENT ON THE CONTINUING EAST-WEST IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT WE HAVE SEEN SINCE HELSINKI. HOWEVER, AN ARTICLE PAINTING U.S. PURSUIT OF DETENTE AS A TACTICAL PLOY APPEARED IN THE JULY-AUGUST ISSUE OF THE PARTY SCHOOL MONTHLY IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA. A SIMILAR NOTE HAD BEEN SOUNDED IN AN ARTICLE IN THE JUNE ISSUE OF SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE (INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS) WHICH ARGUED THAT, WHEREAS THE U.S. PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS MAY DISAGREE ON MANY SPECIFIC ISSUES, THEY ARE IN ACCORD ABOUT PURSUING A GLOBAL POLICY BASED ON U.S. "HEGEMON" AS LEADER OF THE WESTERN CAMP.

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9. POLISH DEFENSES ON BASKET III ISSUES WILL PROBABLY BE BUILT AROUND WHAT THE POLES REGARD AS THE CSCE DOCUMENT'S FIRM GUARANTEES AGAINST INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN APRIL, 1975, REISSUED DECREES ON CONTROL OF THE PRESS, PUBLICATION, AND ENTERTAINMENT, WHICH CONTAIN AMPLE PROVISION FOR SUPPRESSION OF ORAL, WRITTEN, AND VISUAL EXPRESSION, BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, THAT IS DEEMED HARMFUL TO THE "WELFARE AND INTERESTS" OF THE PRL.

10. MOREOVER, GIEREK'S REMARKS AT HELSINKI ABOUT BASKET III ISSUES (REF D) -- ESPECIALLY WHEN VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE FRANCO-POLISH DECLARATION ON CULTURAL COOPERATION JUST PUBLISHED HERE -- CAN BE TAKEN AS IMPLYING A CLEAR OBLIGATION ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENTS SIGNATORY TO THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT TO ASSURE THAT MEDIA AND CLASSROOM DISCUSSION IN THEIR COUNTRIES OF ANY CSCE PARTICIPANT IS RESPONSIBLE, OBJECTIVE, AND PROMOTES INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. POLISH OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY COMPLAINED TO US PRIVATELY ABOUT ALLEGED "COLD-WAR" COMMENTARY ABOUT PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT TO POLAND. THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY OBJECTED TO RFE REPORTS ON SIMILAR GROUNDS.

1. IN SUM, WE EXPECT THE GOP WILL TRY TO WIELD BASKET III AS A TWO-EDGED SWORD. WE CAN EXPECT THAT REAL OR FANCIED SHORTCOMINGS IN OUR OWN FULFILLMENT OF CSCE PLEDGES WILL BE VIGOROUSLY USED AGAINST US. ON THE OTHER HAND, POLAND MAY CONTINUE TO SUPPRESS SOME DOMESTIC AND IMPORTED OPINIONS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY CONTRADICT CSCE PRINCIPLES AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENTS ELABORATED BY THE FIRST

SECRETARY AT HELSINKI. POLAND WILL CONTINUE TO EXPLAIN EAST
EUROPEAN PARTY CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES AMONG NON-RULING
COMMUNIST AND PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS IN THE WEST AS JUSTIFIABLE
UNDER CSCE PRINCIPLES OF FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS. INsofar
AS THE GOP EMPLOYS THAT APPROACH, WE MAY FIND THAT THE BEST
COUNTERACTION WOULD INVOLVE CONSTANT PRESSURE ON THE BASIS OF
OUR INTERPRETATION OF BASKET III COMBINED, WHEN NECESSARY,
WITH AN EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE THAT SHORTFALLS ON BASKET III
JEOPARDIZE THE WHOLE AGREEMENT, AND DETENTE ITSELF.
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